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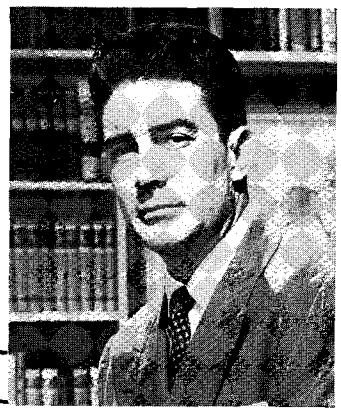

DAN SMOOT

URBAN AFFAIRS CONTROVERSY

On October 10, 1960, John F. Kennedy, as a candidate for President, speaking to an Urban Affairs Conference in Pittsburgh, made his first proposal for creating a new cabinet post, a Department of Urban Affairs and Housing. In his Housing message to Congress on March 9, 1961, President Kennedy formally proposed the plan to Congress.

On April 18, 1961, President Kennedy submitted to Congress a proposed bill to create a Department of Urban Affairs and Housing. United States Representative Dante B. Fascell (Democrat, Florida) introduced the Bill in the House; U. S. Senator Joseph S. Clark, Jr. (Democrat, Pennsylvania) introduced it in the Senate.(1)

Both bills were amended but were eventually reported favorably by the Committees on Government Operations. As reported, the House Bill was designated HR 8429; the Senate Bill, as S 1633.(2)

Hearings on the President's proposed Urban Affairs Bill were held in May and June, 1961.

Principal arguments for the Urban Affairs proposal were (1) that creation of the new department would place more emphasis on, and give stature to, the federal government's activities in the fields of housing and related programs and thus get more done in these fields; and (2) that creation of an Urban Affairs Department would give city dwellers an equal chance with other special interest groups to exert pressures on the federal government, for programs favoring cities.

For example, Senator Clark, sponsor of the Senate Bill, said:

". . . in Government as elsewhere, the importance of status cannot be ignored. A major, no matter how able, cannot do a major general's job."(3)

The House sponsor of the Urban Affairs Bill said:

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"You have the farm bloc that can scare politicians and make them jump, and we pass all kinds of legislation for it. Labor, Agriculture, and business have Cabinet spokesmen, and the city dwellers have none . . . At long last, America's largest group of citizens would at least get a seat at that table, and it is certainly in my judgment past due."(4)

Opposition to the Urban Affairs Bill was based primarily on the argument that it was an effort to achieve, through bigger federal subsidies, federal domination of local affairs. The following quotations are from the Minority Views, expressed by Senators who opposed the Urban Affairs proposal during committee hearings on June 21 and 22, 1961:

"Every pressure group in the nation, looking for Federal funds, wants to have its representative crowding to the President's cabinet table, not to advise and guide him on the problems of government, but to push for special favors for special interests. . . .

"We are, more and more, moving toward a directed economy in this country. The theory of those who support more Federal intervention is that Washington knows best, works best, pays best; and all lesser segments of government must change — they must reshape their concepts of self-determination, and accept the blueprint of the planners.

"More than hopscotching over the State and county governments, this new Department can eventually nullify local city government. . . .

"We will, in one sweeping gesture create a goliath which will drain our Treasury and which will keep a watchful, police eye on every urban community and its citizens, planning, spending, directing, until citizens will not call city hall when streets need repair, or a water main needs replacing, but will notify their Congressman to contact the cabinet member handling such problems, seeking repairs and services."(5)

Although the President's Urban Affairs Bill cleared committees in both houses of Congress in 1961, and could have been brought before both houses for a vote, administration leaders feared the measure would be defeated. They decided to wait for a better "political" time. On September 7, 1961, Senator Mike Mansfield (Democrat, Montana, Majority Leader in the Senate) announced that further action on the Urban Affairs Bill was being postponed until 1962, an election year.(6)

On January 24, 1962, the House Rules Committee by a vote of 9 to 6 rejected a request that the Bill be cleared for a vote in the House. This action killed the Urban Affairs Bill.(7)

It is apparent that President Kennedy and his leaders in Congress expected the Rules Committee to defeat the Urban Affairs Bill, but pushed the Committee to a vote on the proposal on January 24 for political reasons. It was known that Robert C. Weaver, a Negro, would become Secretary of the new Urban Affairs Department. It was also known that Republicans on the Rules Committee would oppose the bill. Hence, administration forces could claim that Democrats are for Negroes and Republicans are against them. The Administration hoped to make the same political appeal to big city voters: characterizing Democrats as wanting to help people in the cities, Republicans as against "helping" city dwellers.

Note this passage from the *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report* of January 26, 1962:

"The vote on the bill Jan. 24 reportedly was pushed by House Speaker John W. McCormack (D Mass.) at White House insistence, so the Democrats could use its defeat as ammunition against Republicans seeking election to Congress from big city districts.

"Following the Committee's rejection of the bill, the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) said it had advised Republicans that votes against the measure would be interpreted as 'racially motivated.' "

At his press conference on January 24, 1962, the President was asked to comment on the House Rules Committee vote which had rejected his urban affairs bill. The President said:

"I am somewhat astonished at the Republican leadership, which opposed this bill. It is my understanding that all of the Republican members of the Rules Committee opposed the

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bill, and I had gotten the impression . . . that they shared our concern for more effective management and responsibility of the problems of two thirds of our population who live in cities . . . .

"This is a most valuable and important proposal. For that reason, therefore, I am going to send it to the Congress as a reorganization plan, and give every member of the House and Senate an opportunity to give their views and work their will on this, and we are going to send it up right away."(8)

The 'Reorganization' Scheme

On January 30, 1962, President Kennedy sent his Urban Affairs proposal back to Congress as "Reorganization Plan No. 1 for 1962." This maneuver was an effort to by-pass the committee system in Congress. Under the Reorganization Act of 1949, a President can reorganize any or all branches of the executive branch of government by merely sending his plan to Congress. If the Congress does not veto his plan (by a majority vote in both houses) within 60 days, the President's plan becomes law without congressional action.

On February 20, 1962, the Senate, by a roll-call vote of 58 to 42, rejected the President's Urban Affairs proposal (not by a direct vote on the Reorganization Plan but by a vote on a resolution to discharge the plan from committee).

On February 21, 1962, the House, by a roll-call stand of 271-156, adopted a resolution disapproving the President's Urban Affairs proposal.

At his press conference on February 21, 1962, President Kennedy was asked to comment on the defeat of his Urban Affairs proposal. The President said:

"We are going to have an urban department. It may not come this year; but in my opinion, it will become as necessary and inevitable as the Department of Agriculture or HEW.

"The difficulty, of course, is that many of those who do not live in urban areas are opposed to it. But if we in this country began to adopt the system that everyone who lives in a city area voted against those things which were of assistance to the farmer, and everybody who comes from a rural area voted against those policies which provided a better life for people in the city, and everybody who lived outside the Tennessee Valley voted against the Tennessee Valley Authority, and everyone who lived in the East voted against the development for the Northwest, development of natural resources, this country would come to a grinding halt."(9)

Summary of the Controversy

Many remarkable things about the Urban Affairs controversy deserve mention:

(1) None of the publicized opposition to the bill included *the* most important argument of all: namely, that all of the federal government's present activities in the field of housing and urban affairs — and all of those that would have been transferred to, or created in, the new department — are unconstitutional, because there is no grant of power in our Constitution for such activities.

(2) In 1961, the Kennedy Administration used harsh pressures — including threats to cancel government spending projects and promises of patronage from the Federal Treasury — to bludgeon the House into increasing membership of the Rules Committee, thus packing that important committee with men favorable to Kennedy's legislative proposals so that the committee would not block the President's favored legislation. In 1962, when his packed Rules Committee did block his Urban Affairs Bill, the President castigated the committee and tried to by-pass it.

(3) The Reorganization Act of 1949 (which the President used in his effort to by-pass the committee system in Congress by sending his defeated Urban Affairs Bill to Congress as a "Reorganization Plan") is obviously unconstitutional. The philosophy of government reflected in the Reorganization Act of 1949 is as closely akin to the Soviet philosophy of government as it is alien to the American concept. Our Constitution authorizes *Congress to legislate*, giving the President veto power. The Reorganization Act of 1949

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reverses that system: it gives the *President power to legislate,* leaving Congress only with a negative veto power.

The Reorganization Act of 1949 should be repealed.

(4) The President and his legislative leaders "deplored" the injection of "racial prejudice" in the Urban Affairs controversy; yet the President and his supporters injected it. Not one person said he voted against the Urban Affairs Bill because a Negro would become the first Secretary.

(5) In his January 24, 1962, press conference statement criticizing the Rules Committee action which killed his Urban Affairs Bill, the President clearly insinuated that this was the work solely of Republicans. Nine members of the Rules Committee voted against the Urban Affairs Bill: four of those were Democrats; and the Chairman of the Committee is a Democrat.

(6) In his February 21, 1962, Press conference statement, commenting on the House and Senate actions which killed his Reorganization Plan to create the new Urban Affairs Department, the President clearly insinuated that his plan was killed by Senators and Congressmen who do not live in, or represent, cities and have no interest in city problems.

All 58 Senators who voted against the President's Urban Affairs plan represent all of the cities in their states. In the House, 49 of the U. S. Representatives who voted *for* the Urban Affairs plan represent *rural* districts; 76 of those who voted *against* the "urban" plan represent urban or suburban districts.

(7) In his February 21, 1962, press conference statement, President Kennedy clearly infers that the legislators opposed to his Urban Affairs plan were voting from motives of narrow special interests. Yet, it was the President and his legislative leaders who made the special-interest arguments in their support of the Urban Affairs plan. It was Administration forces who argued that city people need a special cabinet post to represent their special interests. It was the opposition that scorned the idea of governmental departments being considered lobbying agencies for special classes and groups in our society.

What to Do

The Kennedy Administration forced roll-call votes in the Senate and House on the plan to establish a Department of Urban Affairs and Housing for the purpose of making political appeals to voters in the congressional elections of 1962.

Americans who believe in impartial, American constitutional government should use these roll-call votes to make the Kennedy political schemes backfire. Every Congressman or Senator who supported Kennedy's Urban Department plan should be voted out of office as soon as he stands for re-election. Some who voted against the plan have voted wrong on many other issues (wrong from the American patriot's viewpoint, that is); but they should be congratulated for their vote on this particular issue, nonetheless: this is an effective way of letting them know that voters back home are watching, and that they will receive support when they resist party pressures and vote their convictions.

The roll-call votes on the Urban Affairs plan are set out in Column 1 below.

College Aid Bill

On January 30, 1962, the U. S. House of Representatives, by a stand of 322 to 84, approved HR 8900, the College Academic Facilities Act, authorizing a five-year, 1 billion, 500 million dollar program of federal grants and loans to public and private colleges for construction of academic facilities.

The bill is, of course, unconstitutional, there being no grant of power in our Constitution for federal aid to education of any kind; and it is a further move toward federal control in the important field of higher education.

The Senate passed HR 8900 on February 6, 1962, by a stand of 77 to 21.

Both Senate and House roll-calls on this Bill are set out in Column 2 below.

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Footnotes

(1) *1961 Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, p. 367
(2) "Legislative Analysis: Reorganization Plan No. 1 of 1962, To Create A Department of Urban Affairs and Housing," published by the American Enterprise Association, 1012 Fourteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.
(3) *Establishing a Department of Urban Affairs and Housing, Hearings Before The Subcommittee on Reorganization and International Organizations of the Committee on Government Operations, U. S. Senate, 87th Congress, 1st Session, June 21 and 22, 1961*, p. 25
(4) *Department of Urban Affairs and Housing, Hearings Before a Sub-Committee of the Committee on Government Operations, House of Representatives, 87th Congress, 1st Session, May 24, June 6, 7, and 13, 1961*, p. 8
(5) Pages 18-20 of the "Legislative Analysis" shown in Footnote Number 2.
(6) *1961 Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, p. 367
(7) Page 2 of the "Legislative Analysis" shown in Footnote Number 2.
(8) "Text of the President's Jan. 24 Press Conference," *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, January 26, 1962, p. 126
(9) "Text of the President's Feb. 21 Press Conference," *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, February 23, 1962, p. 306

ROLL CALL VOTES

In Column 1 below, we record the stand of U. S. Senators and Representatives on the President's Reorganization Plan No. 1 of 1962, to establish a Department of Urban Affairs and Housing.

In Column 2, we record the stand on HR 8900, the College Academic Facilities Act (College Aid Bill).

A "C" indicates a conservative stand against the proposal; an "L" indicates a liberal stand for; an "O" indicates that the legislator neither voted nor took a public stand.

In most cases the "C" or "L" indicates an actual vote when the roll was called. In a few cases, however, the legislator did not actually vote but "paired"-- which is a formal device for registering his stand when he cannot be present to vote. In a few cases, the legislator neither voted nor paired, but responded to a Congressional Quarterly poll as to how he would have voted if he had been present.

In the tabulations below, we make no distinction between voting, pairing, and taking a stand in the Congressional Quarterly poll. Hence, the total number of votes in our tabulations is greater than is shown in most other reports on these votes, since other news sources generally report only actual votes.

SENATE

	#1	#2
ALABAMA		
Hill, Lister (D)	C	L
Sparkman, John J. (D)	C	L
ALASKA		
Bartlett, E. L. (D)	L	L
Gruening, Ernest (D)	L	L
ARIZONA		
Goldwater, Barry (R)	C	C
Hayden, Carl (D)	C	L
ARKANSAS		
Fulbright, J. William (D)	C	O
McClellan, John L. (D)	C	C
CALIFORNIA		
Engle, Clair (D)	L	L
Kuchel, Thomas H. (R)	C	L
COLORADO		
Allott, Gordon (R)	C	L
Carroll, John A. (D)	L	L
CONNECTICUT		
Bush, Prescott (R)	C	L
Dodd, Thomas J. (D)	C	L
DELAWARE		
Boggs, J. Caleb (R)	C	L
Williams, John J. (R)	C	C
FLORIDA		
Holland, Spessard L. (D)	C	C
Smathers, George A. (D)	C	L
GEORGIA		
Russell, Richard B. (D)	C	C
Talmadge, Herman E. (D)	C	C
HAWAII		
Fong, Hiram L. (R)	C	L
Long, Oren E. (D)	L	L
IDAHO		
Church, Frank (D)	L	L
Dworshak, Henry C. (R)	C	C
ILLINOIS		
Dirksen, Everett M. (R)	C	L
Douglas, Paul H. (D)	L	L
INDIANA		
Capehart, Homer E. (R)	C	L
Hartke, R. Vance (D)	L	L
IOWA		
Hickenlooper, Bourke B. (R)	C	L
Miller, Jack (R)	C	L
KANSAS		
Carlson, Frank (R)	C	L
Schoeppel, Andrew F. (R)	C	L
KENTUCKY		
Cooper, John Sherman (R)	C	L
Morton, Thruston B. (R)	C	L
LOUISIANA		
Ellender, Allen J. (D)	C	C
Long, Russell B. (D)	C	L
MAINE		
Muskie, Edmund S. (D)	L	L
Smith, Margaret Chase (R)	C	L
MARYLAND		
Beall, J. Glenn (R)	C	L
Butler, John Marshall (R)	C	C
MASSACHUSETTS		
Saltonstall, Leverett (R)	C	L
Smith, Benjamin A., II (D)	L	L
MICHIGAN		
Hart, Philip A. (D)	L	L
McNamara, Pat (D)	L	C
MINNESOTA		
Humphrey, Hubert H. (D)	L	L
McCarthy, Eugene J. (D)	L	L
MISSISSIPPI		
Eastland, James O. (D)	C	C
Stennis, John (D)	C	C
MISSOURI		
Long, Edward V. (D)	L	L
Symington, Stuart (D)	L	L
MONTANA		
Mansfield, Mike (D)	L	L
Metcalf, Lee (D)	L	L
NEBRASKA		
Curtis, Carl T. (R)	C	C
Hruska, Roman L. (R)	C	C
NEVADA		
Bible, Alan (D)	C	L
Cannon, Howard W. (D)	C	L
NEW HAMPSHIRE		
Cotton, Norris (R)	C	L
Murphy, Maurice J., Jr. (R)	C	L
NEW JERSEY		
Case, Clifford P. (R)	L	L
Williams, Harrison A. (D)	L	L
NEW MEXICO		
Anderson, Clinton P. (D)	C	O
Chavez, Dennis (D)	C	L
NEW YORK		
Javits, Jacob K. (R)	L	L
Keating, Kenneth B. (R)	L	L
NORTH CAROLINA		
Ervin, Samuel J., Jr. (D)	C	C
Jordan, B. Everett (D)	C	L
NORTH DAKOTA		
Burdick, Quentin N. (D)	L	L
Young, Milton R. (R)	C	L
OHIO		
Lausche, Frank J. (D)	C	C
Young, Stephen M. (D)	L	L
OKLAHOMA		
Kerr, Robert S. (D)	L	L
Monroney, A. S. Mike (D)	L	L
OREGON		
Morse, Wayne (D)	L	L
Neuberger, Maurine B. (D)	L	L
PENNSYLVANIA		
Clark, Joseph S., Jr. (D)	L	L
Scott, Hugh (R)	L	L
RHODE ISLAND		
Pastore, John O. (D)	L	L
Pell, Claiborne (D)	L	L

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	#1	#2
SOUTH CAROLINA		
Johnston, Olin D. (D)	C	L
Thurmond, J. Strom (D)	C	C
SOUTH DAKOTA		
Case, Francis (R)	C	L
Mundt, Karl E. (R)	C	L
TENNESSEE		
Gore, Albert (D)	L	L
Kefauver, Estes (D)	L	L
TEXAS		
Tower, John (R)	C	C
Yarborough, Ralph W. (D)	L	L
UTAH		
Bennett, Wallace F. (R)	C	C
Moss, Frank E. (D)	L	L
VERMONT		
Aiken, George D. (R)	C	L
Prouty, Winston L. (R)	C	L
VIRGINIA		
Byrd, Harry Flood (D)	C	C
Robertson, A. Willis (D)	C	C
WASHINGTON		
Jackson, Henry M. (D)	L	L
Magnuson, Warren G. (D)	L	L
WEST VIRGINIA		
Byrd, Robert C. (D)	L	L
Randolph, Jennings (D)	C	L
WISCONSIN		
Proxmire, William (D)	L	L
Wiley, Alexander (R)	C	L
WYOMING		
McGee, Gale (D)	L	L
Hickey, J. J. (D)	L	L

HOUSE

	#1	#2
ALABAMA		
Andrews, George W. (D)	C	L
Boykin, Frank W. (D)	C	L
Elliott, Carl (D)	C	L
Grant, George M. (D)	C	L
Huddleston, George, Jr. (D)	C	L
Jones, Robert E., Jr. (D)	C	L
Rains, Albert (D)	C	O
Roberts, Kenneth A. (D)	C	L
Selden, Armistead I, Jr., (D)	C	O
ALASKA		
Rivers, Ralph J. (D)	L	L
ARIZONA		
Rhodes, John J. (R)	C	L
Udall, Morris K. (D)	C	L
ARKANSAS		
Alford, Dale (D)	C	O
Gathings, E. C. (D)	C	C
Harris, Oren (D)	C	L
Mills, Wilbur D. (D)	C	L
Norrell, Catherine D. (D)	C	C
Trimble, James W. (D)	C	L
CALIFORNIA		
Baldwin, John F., Jr. (R)	L	L
Bell, Alphonzo E., Jr. (R)	C	L
Cohelan, Jeffery (D)	L	L
Corman, James C. (D)	L	L
Doyle, Clyde (D)	L	L
Gubser, Charles S. (R)	C	L
Hagen, Harlan (D)	L	L
Hiestand, Edgar W. (R)	C	C
Holifield, Chet (D)	L	O
Hosmer, Craig (R)	C	O
Johnson, Harold T. (D)	L	L
King, Cecil R. (D)	L	L
Lipscomb, Glenard P. (R)	C	C
Mailliard, William S. (R)	L	L
McDonough, Gordon L. (R)	C	L
McFall, John J. (D)	L	L
Miller, Clem (D)	L	L
Miller, George P. (D)	L	L
Moss, John E. (D)	L	L
Roosevelt, James (D)	L	C
Rousselot, John H. (R)	C	C
Saund, D. S. (D)	L	L
Shelley, John F. (D)	L	L
Sheppard, Harry R. (D)	L	O
Sisk, B. F. (D)	L	L
Smith, H. Allen (R)	C	C
Teague, Charles M. (R)	O	L
Utt, James B. (R)	C	C
Wilson, Bob (R)	C	L
Younger, J. Arthur (R)	C	L
COLORADO		
Aspinall, Wayne N. (D)	C	L
Chenoweth, J. Edgar (R)	C	L
Dominick, Peter H. (R)	C	L
Rodgers, Byron G. (D)	L	L
CONNECTICUT		
Daddario, Emilio Q. (D)	L	L
Giaimo, Robert N. (D)	L	L
Kowalski, Frank (D)	L	L
Monagan, John S. (D)	L	L
Seeley-Brown, Horace, Jr. (R)	C	L
Sibal, Abner W. (R)	C	L
DELAWARE		
McDowell, Harris B., Jr. (D)	L	O
FLORIDA		
Bennett, Charles E. (D)	C	L
Cramer, William C. (R)	C	C
Fascell, Dante B. (D)	L	C
Haley, James A. (D)	C	C
Herlong, A. Sydney, Jr. (D)	C	L
Matthews, D. R. (D)	C	C
Rodgers, Paul G. (D)	C	L
Sikes, Robert L. F. (D)	C	L
GEORGIA		
Blitch, Iris F. (D)	C	L
Davis, James C. (D)	C	L
Davis, John W. (D)	C	L
Flynt, John J. (D)	C	L
Forrester, E. L. (D)	C	L
Hagan, G. Elliott (D)	C	L
Landrum, Phil M. (D)	C	L
Pilcher, J. L. (D)	C	L
Stephens, Robert P. (D)	C	L
Vinson, Carl (D)	C	L
HAWAII		
Inouye, Daniel K. (D)	L	L
IDAHO		
Harding, Ralph R. (D)	L	L
Pfost, Gracie (D)	C	L
ILLINOIS		
Anderson, John B. (R)	C	C
Arends, Leslie C. (R)	C	L
Chipperfield, Robert B. (R)	C	O
Church, Marguerite Stitt (R)	C	C
Collier, Harold R. (R)	C	L
Dawson, William L. (D)	L	O
Derwinski, Edward J. (R)	C	L
Findley, Paul (R)	C	C
Finnegan, Edward R. (D)	L	L
Gray, Kenneth (D)	L	L
Hoffman, Elmer J. (R)	C	C
Kluczynski, John C. (D)	L	L
Libonati, Roland V. (D)	L	L
Mack, Peter F., Jr. (D)	L	L
Mason, Noah M. (R)	C	C
Michel, Robert H. (R)	C	C
Murphy, William T. (D)	L	L
O'Brian, Thomas J. (D)	L	L
O'Hara, Barratt (D)	L	L
Price, Melvin (D)	L	L
Pucinski, Roman C. (D)	L	L
Rostenkowski, Daniel (D)	L	O
Shipley, George E. (D)	L	L
Springer, William L. (R)	C	O
Yates, Sidney (D)	L	L
INDIANA		
Adair, E. Ross (R)	C	L
Brademas, John (D)	L	L
Bray, William G. (R)	C	L
Bruce, Donald C. (R)	C	C
Denton, Winfield K. (D)	L	L
Halleck, Charles A. (R)	C	L
Harvey, Ralph (R)	C	L
Madden, Ray J. (D)	L	L
Roudebush, Richard L. (R)	C	L
Roush, J. Edward (D)	L	L
Wilson, Earl (R)	C	L
IOWA		
Bromwell, James E. (R)	C	L
Coad, Merwin (D)	L	L
Gross, H. R. (R)	C	C
Hoeven, Charles B. (R)	C	C
Jensen, Ben F. (R)	C	C
Kyl, John (R)	C	L
Schwengel, Fred (R)	C	L
Smith, Neal (D)	L	L
KANSAS		
Avery, William H. (R)	C	O
Breeding, J. Floyd (D)	C	L
Dole, Robert (R)	C	C
Ellsworth, Robert F. (R)	C	L
McVey, Walter L. (R)	C	O
Shriver, Garner E. (R)	C	L
KENTUCKY		
Burke, Frank W. (D)	L	L
Chelf, Frank (D)	L	L
Natcher, William H. (D)	L	L
Perkins, Carl D. (D)	L	L
Siler, Eugene (R)	C	C
Spence, Brent (D)	L	L
Stubblefield, Frank A. (D)	L	L
Watts, John C. (D)	L	L
LOUISIANA		
Boggs, Hale (D)	C	L
Hebert, F. Edward (D)	C	L
McSween, Harold B. (D)	C	C
Morrison, James H. (D)	C	L
Passman, Otto E. (D)	C	C
Thompson, T. Ashton (D)	C	L
Waggonner, Joseph D., Jr. (D)	C	C
Willis, Edwin E. (D)	C	L

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	#1	#2
MAINE		
Garland, Peter A. (R)	C	L
McIntire, Clifford G. (R)	C	L
Tupper, Stanley R. (R)	L	L
MARYLAND		
Brewster, Daniel B. (D)	L	L
Fallon, George H. (D)	L	L
Friedel, Samuel N. (D)	L	L
Garmatz, Edward A. (D)	L	L
Johnson, Thomas F. (D)	C	L
Lankford, Richard E. (D)	L	L
Mathias, Charles McC., Jr. (R)	L	L
MASSACHUSETTS		
Bates, William H. (D)	C	L
Boland, Edward P. (D)	L	L
Burke, James A. (D)	L	L
Conte, Silvio O. (R)	C	L
Curtis, Laurence (R)	C	L
Donohue, Harold D. (D)	L	L
Keith, Hastings (R)	C	L
Lane, Thomas J. (D)	L	L
Macdonald, Torbert H. (D)	L	L
McCormack, John W. (D)	O	O
Martin, Joseph W., Jr. (R)	C	L
Morse, F. Bradford (R)	C	L
O'Neill, Thomas P., Jr. (D)	L	L
Philbin, Philip J. (D)	L	L
MICHIGAN		
Bennett, John B. (R)	C	L
Broomfield, William S. (R)	C	L
Cederberg, Elford A. (R)	C	L
Chamberlain, Charles E. (R)	C	L
Diggs, Charles C., Jr. (D)	L	L
Dingell, John D. (D)	L	L
Ford, Gerald R., Jr. (R)	C	O
Griffin, Robert P. (R)	C	L
Griffiths, Martha W. (D)	L	L
Harvey, James (R)	C	L
Hoffman, Clare E. (R)	O	O
Johansen, August E. (R)	C	C
Knox, Victor A. (R)	C	L
Lesinski, John (D)	L	L
Meader, George (R)	C	L
Nedzi, Lucien N. (D)	L	L
O'Hara, James G. (D)	L	L
Ryan, Harold M. (D)	L	O
MINNESOTA		
Andersen, H. Carl (R)	C	C
Blatnik, John A. (D)	L	L
Judd, Walter H. (R)	C	L
Karth, Joseph E. (D)	L	L
Langen, Odin (R)	C	L
MacGregor, Clark (R)	C	L
Marshall, Fred (D)	C	L
Nelsen, Ancher (R)	C	L
Quie, Albert H. (R)	C	L
MISSISSIPPI		
Abernethy, Thomas G. (D)	C	C
Colmer, William M. (D)	C	O
Smith, Frank E. (D)	C	O
Whitten, Jamie L. (D)	C	C
Williams, John Bell (D)	C	C
Winstead, Arthur (D)	C	C
MISSOURI		
Bolling, Richard (D)	L	L
Cannon, Clarence (D)	C	L
Curtis, Thomas B. (R)	C	L
Hall, Durward G. (R)	C	C
Hull, W. R., Jr. (D)	C	L
Ichord, Richard (D)	C	L
Jones, Paul C. (D)	C	L
Karsten, Frank M. (D)	L	L
Moulder, Morgan M. (D)	C	L
Randall, William J. (D)	L	L
Sullivan, Leonor K. (D)	L	L

	#1	#2
MONTANA		
Battin, James F. (R)	C	O
Olsen, Arnold (D)	L	L
NEBRASKA		
Beermann, Ralph F. (R)	C	C
Cunningham, Glenn (R)	C	C
Martin, Dave (R)	C	C
Weaver, Phil (R)	C	C
NEVADA		
Baring, Walter S. (D)	C	L
NEW HAMPSHIRE		
Bass, Perkins (R)	C	L
Merrow, Chester E. (R)	L	O
NEW JERSEY		
Addonizio, Hugh J. (D)	L	L
Auchincloss, James C. (R)	C	L
Cahill, William T. (R)	L	L
Daniels, Dominick V. (D)	L	L
Dwyer, Florence P. (R)	L	L
Frelinghuysen, Peter, Jr. (R)	C	L
Gallagher, Cornelius E. (D)	L	O
Glenn, Milton W. (R)	L	L
Joelson, Charles S. (D)	L	L
Osmers, Frank C., Jr. (R)	C	L
Rodino, Peter W., Jr. (D)	L	L
Thompson, Frank, Jr. (D)	L	L
Wallhauser, George M. (R)	L	L
Widnall, William B. (R)	C	L
NEW MEXICO		
Montoya, Joseph M. (D)	L	L
Morris, Thomas G. (D)	C	L
NEW YORK		
Addabbo, Joseph P. (D)	L	L
Anfuso, Victor L. (D)	L	L
Barry, Robert R. (R)	C	L
Becker, Frank J. (R)	C	C
Buckley, Charles A. (D)	L	L
Carey, Hugh L. (D)	L	L
Celler, Emanuel (D)	L	L
Delaney, James J. (D)	L	L
Derounian, Stephen B. (R)	C	L
Dooley, Edwin B. (R)	C	L
Dulski, Thaddeus J. (D)	L	L
Farbstein, Leonard (D)	L	L
Fino, Paul A. (R)	L	L
Gilbert, Jacob H. (D)	L	L
Goodell, Charles E. (R)	C	L
Halpern, Seymour (R)	L	L
Healey, James C. (D)	L	L
Kelly, Edna F. (D)	L	L
Keogh, Eugene J. (D)	L	L
Kilburn, Clarence E. (R)	C	C
King, Carleton J. (R)	C	L
Lindsay, John V. (R)	L	L
Miller, William E. (R)	C	L
Multer, Abraham J. (D)	L	L
O'Brian, Leo W. (D)	L	L
Ostertag, Harold C. (R)	C	L
Pike, Otis G. (D)	L	L
Pillion, John R. (R)	C	L
Pirnie, Alexander (R)	O	L
Powell, Adam C. (D)	L	L
Ray, John H. (R)	C	C
Riehlman, R. Walter (R)	C	L
Robison, Howard W. (R)	C	L
Rooney, John J. (D)	L	L
Ryan, William F. (D)	L	L
Santangelo, Alfred E. (D)	L	L
St. George, Katharine (R)	C	C
Stratton, Samuel S. (D)	L	L
Tabor, John (R)	C	C
Weis, Jessica McC. (R)	C	L
Wharton, J. Ernest (R)	C	L
Zelenko, Herbert (D)	L	L
Vacancy		

	#1	#2
NORTH CAROLINA		
Alexander, Hugh Q. (D)	C	C
Bonner, Herbert C. (D)	C	L
Cooley, Harold D. (D)	C	L
Fountain, L. H. (D)	C	L
Henderson, David N. (D)	C	C
Jonas, Charles Raper (R)	C	C
Kitchin, A. Paul (D)	C	C
Kornegay, Horace R. (D)	C	L
Lennon, Alton (D)	C	C
Scott, Ralph J. (D)	C	C
Taylor, Roy A. (D)	C	C
Whitener, Basil L. (D)	C	C
NORTH DAKOTA		
Nygaard, Hjalmar C. (R)	C	L
Short, Don L. (R)	C	C
OHIO		
Ashbrook, John M. (R)	C	C
Ashley, Thomas L. (D)	L	L
Ayres, William H. (R)	C	L
Betts, Jackson E. (R)	C	C
Bolton, Frances P. (R)	C	L
Bow, Frank T. (R)	C	L
Brown, Clarence J. (R)	C	L
Clancy, Donald D. (R)	C	C
Cook, Robert E. (D)	C	L
Devine, Samuel L. (R)	C	C
Feighan, Michael A. (D)	L	L
Harsha, William H., Jr. (R)	C	L
Hays, Wayne L. (D)	L	L
Kirwan, Michael J. (D)	L	L
Latta, Delbert L. (R)	C	L
McCulloch, William M. (R)	C	L
Minshall, William E. (R)	C	L
Moeller, Walter H. (D)	C	L
Moorehead, Tom V. (R)	C	L
Mosher, Charles A. (R)	C	L
Schenck, Paul F. (R)	C	L
Scherer, Gordon H. (R)	O	C
Vanik, Charles A. (D)	L	L
OKLAHOMA		
Albert, Carl (D)	L	L
Belcher, Page (R)	C	C
Edmondson, Ed (D)	L	L
Jarman, John (D)	C	O
Steed, Tom (D)	C	L
Wickersham, Victor (D)	C	L
OREGON		
Durno, Edwin R. (R)	C	L
Green, Edith (D)	L	L
Norblad, Walter (R)	C	L
Ullman, Al (D)	L	O
PENNSYLVANIA		
Barrett, William A. (D)	L	L
Byrne, James A. (D)	L	L
Clark, Frank M. (D)	L	L
Corbett, Robert J. (R)	C	L
Curtin, Willard S. (R)	C	L
Dague, Paul B. (R)	C	C
Dent, John H. (D)	L	L
Fenton, Ivor D. (R)	C	L
Flood, Daniel J. (D)	L	L
Fulton, James G. (R)	C	L
Gavin, Leon H. (R)	C	C
Goodling, George A. (R)	C	L
Granahan, Kathryn E. (D)	L	L
Green, William J., Jr. (D)	L	L
Holland, Elmer J. (D)	L	L
Kearns, Carroll D. (R)	C	L
Kunkel, John C. (R)	C	L
Milliken, William H., Jr. (R)	C	L
Moorehead, William S. (D)	L	L
Morgan, Thomas E. (D)	L	L
Nix, Robert N. C. (D)	L	O
Rhodes, George M. (D)	L	L
Saylor, John P. (R)	C	C

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	#1	#2
Schneebeli, Herman T. (R)	C	L
Schweiker, Richard S. (R)	C	L
Scranton, William W. (R)	C	L
Toll, Herman (D)	L	L
Van Zandt, James E. (R)	L	L
Walter, Francis E. (D)	L	L
Whalley, J. Irving (R)	C	L
RHODE ISLAND		
Fogarty, John E. (D)	L	L
St. Germain, Fernand J. (D)	L	L
SOUTH CAROLINA		
Ashmore, Robert T. (D)	C	C
Dorn, W. J. Bryan (D)	C	C
Hemphill, Robert W. (D)	C	C
McMillan, John L. (D)	C	C
Rivers, L. Mendel (D)	C	O
Vacancy		
SOUTH DAKOTA		
Berry, E. Y. (R)	C	C
Reifel, Ben (R)	C	L
TENNESSEE		
Baker, Howard H. (R)	C	L
Bass, Ross (D)	O	L
Davis, Clifford (D)	C	O
Everett, Robert A. (D)	C	L
Evins, Joe L. (D)	C	C
Frazier, James B., Jr. (D)	C	L
Loser, J. Carlton (D)	L	O
Murray, Tom (D)	C	C
Reece, Louise G. (R)	C	L
TEXAS		
Alger, Bruce (R)	C	C
Beckworth, Lindley (D)	C	L
Brooks, Jack (D)	C	L
Burleson, Omar (D)	C	C
Casey, Robert R. (D)	C	C
Dowdy, John (D)	C	C
Fisher, O. Clark (D)	C	C
Gonzalez, Henry B. (D)	L	L
Kilgore, Joe M. (D)	C	C
Mahon, George H. (D)	C	C
Patman, Wright (D)	C	L
Poage, William R. (D)	C	C
Purcell, Graham (D)	C	L
Roberts, Ray (D)	C	O
Rogers, Walter (D)	C	C
Rutherford, J. T. (D)	C	C
Teague, Olin E. (D)	C	C
Thomas, Albert (D)	L	L
Thompson, Clark (D)	C	L
Thornberry, Homer (D)	C	L
Wright, James C. (D)	C	L
Young, John (D)	C	L
UTAH		
King, David S. (D)	C	L
Peterson, M. Blaine (D)	C	L
VERMONT		
Stafford, Robert T. (R)	C	L
VIRGINIA		
Abbitt, Watkins M. (D)	C	C
Broyhill, Joel T. (R)	C	L
Downing, Thomas N. (D)	C	L
Gary, J. Vaughan (D)	C	C
Hardy, Porter, Jr. (D)	C	L
Harrison, Burr P. (D)	C	L
Jennings, W. Pat (D)	C	L
Poff, Richard H. (R)	C	C
Smith, Howard W. (D)	C	L
Tuck, William M. (D)	C	C
WASHINGTON		
Hansen, Julia B. (D)	L	L
Horan, Walt (R)	C	L
Magnuson, Don (D)	O	L
May, Catherine (D)	C	L
Pelly, Thomas M. (R)	C	L
Tollefson, Thor C. (R)	C	L
Westland, Jack (R)	C	L
WEST VIRGINIA		
Bailey, Cleveland M. (D)	L	L
Hechler, Ken (D)	L	L
Kee, Elizabeth (D)	L	L
Moore, Arch A., Jr. (R)	C	L
Slack, John M., Jr. (D)	C	L
Staggers, Harley O. (D)	L	L
WISCONSIN		
Byrnes, John W. (R)	C	L
Johnson, Lester R. (D)	L	L
Kastenmeier, Robert W. (D)	C	L
Laird, Melvin R. (R)	C	L
O'Konski, Alvin E. (R)	O	L
Reuss, Henry S. (D)	L	L
Schadeberg, Henry C. (R)	C	C
Thomson, Vernon W. (R)	C	L
Van Pelt, William K. (R)	C	O
Zablocki, Clement J. (D)	L	L
WYOMING		
Harrison, William Henry (R)	C	L

WHO IS DAN SMOOT?

Dan Smoot was born in Missouri. Reared in Texas, he attended SMU in Dallas, taking BA and MA degrees from that university in 1938 and 1940.

In 1941, he joined the faculty at Harvard as a Teaching Fellow in English, doing graduate work for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the field of American Civilization.

In 1942, he took leave of absence from Harvard in order to join the FBI. At the close of the war, he stayed in the FBI, rather than return to Harvard.

He worked as an FBI Agent in all parts of the nation, handling all kinds of assignments. But for three and a half years, he worked exclusively on communist investigations in the industrial midwest. For two years following that, he was on FBI headquarters staff in Washington, as an Administrative Assistant to J. Edgar Hoover.

After nine and a half years in the FBI, Smoot resigned to help start the Facts Forum movement in Dallas. As the radio and television commentator for Facts Forum, Smoot, for almost four years spoke to a national audience giving both sides of great controversial issues.

In July, 1955, he resigned and started his own independent program, in order to give only one side — the side that uses fundamental American principles as a yardstick for measuring all important issues.

If you believe that Dan Smoot is providing effective tools for those who want to think and talk and write on the side of freedom, you can help immensely by subscribing, and encouraging others to subscribe, to *The Dan Smoot Report.*

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